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P R E A C H ' D I N

St. *Andrew's*, *Dublin* :

Before the Honourable

House of Commons,

O N

MONDAY, October 23, 1711.

Being the ANNIVERSARY of the

Irish R E B E L L I O N.

H.

By THEO. BOLTON, D. D.
Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's,
DUBLIN, and Chaplain to His GRACE the
LORD LIEUTENANT.

L O N D O N :

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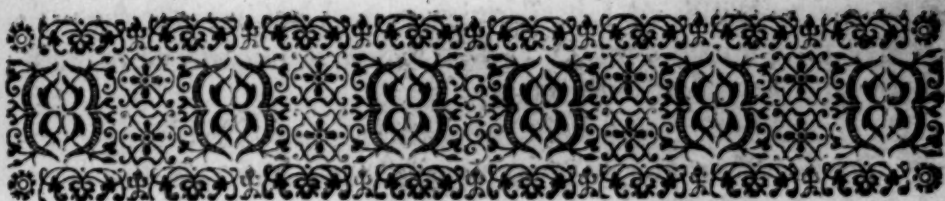


Martis 24. die Octobris, 1721.

Order'd,

THAT the Thanks of this House be given to the Reverend Doctor Theophilus Bolton, for the excellent Sermon by him Preach'd, before this House Yesterday, at St. Andrew's Church; and that he be desired to Print the same. And that Doctor Coghill, Mr. Solicitor General, Sir William Parsons, and Doctor Trotter, do acquaint him therewith.

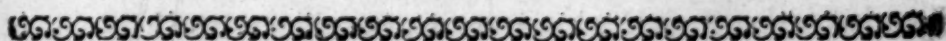
Bruen Worthington, } D. C. Parl.
& Dom. Com.
Isaac Ambrose, }



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S E R M O N

P R E A C H ' D I N

St. *Andrew's, Dublin, &c.*



TITUS III. part of the first Verse.

*Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities
and Powers, to obey Magistrates.*



THE Design of the Christian Institution being to make known to Mankind the Means by which, in the Order of God's Appointment, all might attain Happiness, both in this and a future State: the whole System of Morality, upon which our present Felicity entirely depends, was necessarily taken in as a Part of this holy Institution; and all those Precepts of the Moral Law, which either regulate the common Offices or Life between Man and Man, or determine that

Obedience which is due to the Magistrate in a social State, were made Rules of Christianity; and besides the *Promises of this Life*, much greater in that which is to come were added to enforce our Obedience.

By this Means, not only the Influence of Christianity upon Civil Government became very great; but the Influence likewise, which the Ministers and Rulers in Christ's Kingdom must have in every Society, where they are admitted to preach the Gospel, became a Matter of the greatest Consequence to Temporal Princes; the religious Motives upon which they exact Obedience, being in their Nature more powerful than any Temporal Rewards or Penalties which the Magistrate can propose.

This, in the very Infancy of Christianity, was taken notice of by the Powers then in being; and as it occasioned every where a Jealousy and Suspicion of the first Planters of the Gospel, they found themselves under a Necessity to be extremely particular, in declaring to the World, that this Influence, which Religion had upon Civil Government, was altogether friendly to it; that it no way meddled with the Rights of Princes, nor was at all intended to make any Change in the local Constitutions, that were any where established, or alter those Foundations which by Agreement were laid, as Checks to the Magistrate's Power, for the common Good of all.

That the Spiritual Power, communicated to them for the Government of the Christian Church, no way related to Civil Society; and what was given them in Charge in that Respect, plainly tended to its Advantage; being nothing more than to press that Obedience, which by the Laws of every Country was due to the Civil Magistrate, upon religious Motives, by publishing to the World, that it was the Will of God, that all should be subject to the higher Powers, not only for *Wrath*, or thro' *Fear*, which was a weak unsteady Principle, but for *Conscience-sake*, an inward Conviction that Obedience was a Moral Duty, and like every other virtuous and good Action, would be rewarded by him in a future State.

This was the settled Doctrine of the Primitive Church; nor can we find, among the Christian Writers, the least Change introduced, till after the Papal Usurpation; on the

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contrary, so sensible were Christian Princes of the Advantages, they received from it, that the Zeal and Diligence of the Clergy, in this particular, are by many assigned, as one great Cause of their extraordinary Bounty and Munificence to the Church.

But then, it must be owned, immediately after the Prevalency of the Papal Power, this *Sacred Authority* became as hurtful to the *Temporal*, as before it was friendly and useful to it. For the Bishops of the See of *Rome* having seized the Government of the whole Ecclesiastical Body, and usurped that Power, which by the Christian Institution was lodged in the Diocesan Bishops of every National or Provincial Church, prevailed upon the Clergy to receive and publish it, as the Doctrine of Christ, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope, might be deposed or murdered by their Subjects; by which Means they became a Terror to all Christian Kings and Magistrates, raised frequent Disturbances in almost every Nation, and under the Pretext of securing the Church, were enabled, where-ever they judged it for their Interest, to arm the Subjects of any State against their lawful Governors.

That, among other, the great Rebellion, which gives Occasion to our present Meeting, if not founded, was at least carried on by the Influence which this pernicious Doctrine had upon the Popish Natives of this Kingdom, is, I think, generally agreed on. For admitting the Conductors of it, might possibly have been moved by a Prospect of destroying the English Settlement here, and possessing themselves of their Lands; and granting also, that many unhappy Circumstances then concurred, without the Concurrence of which, probably, they neither wou'd have attempted, nor have been able to execute this execrable Design; yet still it must be allow'd that the common People, who were then no way oppress'd, must have been wholly influenc'd by this corrupt Doctrine, and that nothing else could have raised them, to so high a Pitch of Barbarity, as to Murder, without Opposition given, great Numbers of innocent Persons. The Truth is, there is no Principle in Nature, except a mistaken religious Zeal, that is strong enough to over-power the common Instincts of Humanity, and prevail upon any Man, where he is not raised by Arms and Opposition, or

over-born by some present vehement *Passion*, to destroy his fellow Creature.

Thanks be to God ; most of those Circumstances that contributed to this unnatural Rebellion, are now removed ; this corrupt Doctrine only remains, as a Principle of Danger, that upon any new Concurrence of unhappy Accidents, may enable wicked and ambitious Men to excite and influence the Body of the Natives to engage in a like Attempt. I hope therefore, it will not be thought foreign to the Design of the Legislature in appointing this Solemnity, if I but lightly touch upon the other Circumstances of this Insurrection, and make it the Business of the following Discourse to explain the true Doctrine of Christianity upon this Head of Obedience ; and shew how greatly the Church of *Rome*, and some others (for to say the Truth she is not singular in her Opinions) have varied in this Particular from what we are taught by Christ and his Apostles.

And because it sometimes happens, in religious as well as other Disputes, that the greatest Difficulty arises from the wrong Stating the Question, and by clearing that from the Intricacies and Subtilties of artful Men, every discerning Person is better able to perceive on which Side the Truth lies, than by the most elaborate Argument ; I chuse, in this Assembly, to speak to the Point before us in the following Method.

I. I will endeavour to lay before you the true State of this Controversy concerning Obedience to the Civil Magistrate, together with the principal Points that have arisen upon it ; and shew in what Particulars the Church of *Rome* and others have varied from the true Doctrines of Christianity with respect to this Duty.

II. I shall endeavour more particularly to explain the Tenets of the established Church upon the same Heads, and attempt to answer those Objections that her several Opponents usually produce against her.

III. And Lastly, I shall take leave to make one or two brief Observations from the whole.

I. In Order then to state this Controversy, it must be observed, that all Sects of Christians, except some of the wildest Enthusiasts (whose Opinions do not deserve our present Notice) are agreed, that *Obedience to the higher Powers*

is a Christian Duty, and that no Man can resist his lawful Superior, without incurring as much Guilt, as arises from any other Act of Disobedience to the Divine Command. So that the whole Controversy relates to the Bounds of the Magistrate's Power, whether it be capable of any Limitation, and in what Cases, and by whom. And as these are Points of the greatest Moment to the Peace of Mankind, they have given Rise to some of the warmest Controversies, that have ever happen'd in Religion, and wherein the Divines of all Persuasions have been engaged.

But to be able clearly to comprehend their different Sentiments, and perceive from whence these Limitations to the Magistrate's Power may arise, I must further observe one or two Particulars.

And *First*, As it is very possible for the same Men to be Members of different Societies, and as such, to be capable of different Rights, and subject to different Obligations; so in every Christian Common-wealth, this must be every Man's Case, because every Man is, at the same time, a Member of the Church, and the Common-wealth, which are different Societies.

Secondly, This different Capacity, in which all Christians must be consider'd, is the Ground of the Distinction which is usually made between the *Temporal* and the *Spiritual State*; each of which has received its Name from the End, for which Men enter into one or other of these Societies. Thus the End, for which Men join in Civil Society, being the Preservation of their Temporal Rights, when the whole Body of any People are consider'd, as united together for this Purpose, they compose the *State Temporal*: So on the other hand, when you join together for a merely Spiritual End, in Order to worship, or serve God in the Manner he has appointed, they compose that Society which is called the Church, and the whole consider'd together with their Governors, are called the Ecclesiastical or *Spiritual State*. *

Thirdly, Because Society would be an impossible and absurd Fiction, if all the Members of it were not consider'd

* This Word is often used for the Clergy only, but I here take it in a larger Sense for the whole collective Body of the People consider'd in their Spiritual Capacity.

as Parts of one Body, under the Direction of one Will; it is generally agreed, that those Persons, whether one or more, to whom the Government of any Society is committed, have a Right to Obedience from every Member when called upon; Government being nothing more than a Power to direct, and apply the Force of the whole Community to such Purposes, as are judged necessary for its Preservation, or Well-being. And for this Reason the Strength and Power of the whole Society is supposed to be collected together, and united in the Person of the Governor.

Lastly, From hence it must happen, that in Christian Commonwealths, wherein (as has been said) all are Members of distinct Societies, the same Men, as they are Members of the Church or compose the State Ecclesiastical, must be under the Direction of other, or different Persons from those, whom they are bound to obey, consider'd as Members of the Civil State; and be under Obligations to obey those their Spiritual Governors in all things, wherein by the Rules of the Society, they have a Power to command, or exact Obedience.

These Things being premised; any one may now perceive, that in all Christian Kingdoms, the Civil Power, from the Nature of the Thing, is capable of a two-fold Limitation; one from the State Ecclesiastical, if in any Case, the Governors of it have a Power from God, to direct the Members of the Church to resist, or depose their Civil Superior. The other from the Civil State, if the People, or any Representation of them, consider'd in that Capacity, are permitted by the Divine Law, in any case, according to their local Constitutions, to withdraw their Obedience from the Magistrate, when he acts contrary to the Rules of such Constitutions.

These two Limitations, to which the Power of the Magistrate, in a Christian State, may from the Nature of the Thing be liable, have given Rise to the two main Points in this Controversy.

The first is, whether the Governors of the Christian Church (in whomsoever you suppose that Government vested, whether in the Pope or Bishop of Rome, or a Synod of the Bishops of any national Church, or in any other Synod or Assembly that represents the Ecclesiastical State) have Power and

and Authority from Christ, where the Magistrate acts contrary to the Interest of the Church, to absolve his Christian Subjects from their Allegiance, and impower them to resist, depose, or dethrone him.

The second Point relates to the Christian Subjects, considered as Members of the Civil State, whether they are so far tied down by the Rules of the Gospel in this Point of Obedience to the Magistrate, that they cannot, tho' he acts contrary to their local Constitution, and attempt to change the Frame of their Government, withdraw their Obedience, or in case he uses Force to maintain these Encroachments, resist.

In the first of these Particulars, the Establish'd Church differs from the Papists, the greater Part of the Dissenters, and (we may almost call it) a Sect lately founded upon a Book, Intituled *The Rights of the Christian Church*, and unhappily countenanced by a Divine of no small Note, in a neighbouring Kingdom; and in the second, from the Non-jurors of the present Age, and the Asserters of Unlimited Passive Obedience in the last.

The first Point, as far as the Dissenters, or the Church of *Rome* are concerned in it, has from the time that the Bishops of that See usurped the Government of the *Western* Church, been debated with utmost Subtily by the most eminent Lawyers and Divines of *Europe*, in the Disputes that arose upon this Head, between the Popes and Christian Princes. But the Controversy upon the other is of much later Date, having arisen since the Reformation, about the beginning of the last Age, and is, in a manner, peculiar to the Writers of these Nations.

The Asserters of the Papal Power differ somewhat in the manner of stating this Doctrine; some maintain an original or direct Dominion in the Pope, whereby he is not only impowered, but obliged, as Vicar of Christ, to inspect the Affairs of all Christian Princes, and either upon Male-Administration, or any Attempt against the Interest of the Church, to admonish them to correct the Abuse, which if they refuse, he is bound, by virtue of his Office, to proceed to Excommunication, and may authorize either their own Subjects, or any other Christian Prince, with their Assistance, to depose them.

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Others apprehensive, the Doctrine thus proposed would appear too shocking to all Christian Princes, maintain only an indirect Dominion in the Ecclesiastical Superior; which impowers him, in case of their embracing, or supporting Heresy, or prohibiting the due Execution of the Canons of the Church, to proceed to Ecclesiastical Censures. And if after these, they continue Obstinate and Incurable, and go on to tear and devour the Flock of Christ, he may, for the Preservation of the Flock, the care of which was committed to him by Christ, absolve the Subjects from their Allegiance, and empower them, or any other Christian Prince, deputed for that Purpose, to depose and dethrone them. For tho', say they, there be no original or direct Dominion in the Church over the Temporal Power, yet this Abuse, in the Exercise of it, founds a Jurisdiction in that Person, whom Christ has appointed, as his *Vicar*, to protect his Flock.

But this Opinion, tho' more artfully proposed, is in effect the same with the former; the Error of both consisting in this, that it subjects the *Temporal* to the *Ecclesiastical State*, and by giving the spiritual Governor a Right, in any case, to make use of the Force or Power of the People, fixes the last Resort of *all Power* in him; deprives the Magistrate of the *Temporal*, as well as *Spiritual Sword*; and places both in the Hands of the *Spiritual Judge*; for these imaginary Bounds to the Jurisdiction of the latter, can be to no Purpose, while he reserves to himself the Interpretation of these Canons, or the final Judgment, what is Heresy or a Spiritual Crime within their Sense, and after Sentence given, a Power to make use of the Force of the People to have that Sentence executed.

The Substance of what is said, to support this Doctrine, is that the Ecclesiastical State having a more noble End, the everlasting Happiness of Mankind, than the Civil, which goes no farther than the Happiness of this Life, must, from this Superiority in the End, have a Privilege to controul the *Temporal Power*, where-ever it encroaches upon the Rights, or endangers the Welfare of the Church.

It was for this Reason, that all the Power which Christ had with respect to the Church, was by him conveyed in exprefs Words to the Apostles, and their Successors; *As my Father sent me so send I you*, and all the Members of his Kingdom

dom as expressly enjoined, *to obey those that were set over them in the Lord.* Wherefore, say they, however direct those Texts are, which command Obedience to the Civil Power, they must be understood with the forementioned Limitation; otherwise, there would be a direct Contradiction in the Christian Law; for if the temporal and spiritual Superior should one command, what the other prohibits, which is not only possible but has frequently happened, either the Subject, who is Member of both Societies, must be liable to inconsistent Commands, and whatever Way he acts, commit Sin; or there must be a Right in one of these Superiors to dispense with the Obedience due to the other, when this happens to be the Case. But then in which of them that Right is, tho' the Law had not determined it, the Reason of the Thing would; namely, the greater Good or Evil, which must be the Consequence of our Obedience, or Disobedience to either. And for a Confirmation of this Argument, many Precedents are produced of the Pope's deposing temporal Princes, to shew, that the Exercise of this Power has been all along in the *Church.*

Thus this Controversy stood, at the Time of the Reformation, after having been debated by the Favourers of the Popes and Emperors for three or four Hundred Years successively, nor did it then cease, but has ever since continued among us; the *Established Church*, and the *Dissenters* took indeed contrary Sides. The former, following closely the Steps of the *Primitive Church*, declared in Favour of the *Civil Supremacy.* But the latter, imagining the Error of the Church of *Rome* did not consist in asserting the Authority of *Christ's Kingdom* over all the Powers of the World, but in placing that Authority in wrong Hands, maintaining the same Doctrine; differing only in this, that they transferred it from the Bishop, or Pope of *Rome*, to their several Assemblies, wherein, according to their different Forms of *Church Government*, they supposed this Power of directing the Affairs of the *Christian Church* to have been lodged.

They changed indeed the Terms, that had been made use of by the Lawyers and School Divines, particularly the Name of the Crime, which founded the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, instead of *Heresy*, calling it *Idolatry.* But this made no Change in the main Question, for they reserved to themselves

selves the final Judgment of that *Crime*, or *Opinion*, which was to be deemed, or taken to be *Idolatry*.

The Author, and Followers of the *Seet* just mentioned have, in a Way different from all *Christian Churches* both ancient and modern, put an easy End to this Controversy; by dissolving the Christian Society, and maintaining, that since *Christ's Kingdom is not of this World*, there can be no authorized *Government* of it in this World. And as this, they say, cuts off this whole Dispute, so it can be attended with no Inconvenience, with respect to the *Profession* of *Christianity*; since the *Sincerity* of those who embrace it, will certainly excuse them in the Sight of God, if for want of *Authorized Governors*, they should fall into any erroneous Tenet.

And thus I have endeavoured to lay before you the true State of that Controversy, which arises from the first Limitation, of which the *Civil Power* in any *Christian Kingdom* is capable; as it is at present stands between the *Established Church*, and its several Opponents.

The *Question* arising upon the second Limitation, has not occasioned much Debate, at least among Divines, any where but in those Kingdoms. The Truth is, it cannot with any Propriety be called a religious *Question*. For the Limits to the *Magistrate's Power*, in the Civil State, must altogether depend upon that *Constitution* or *Form* of Government which is any where *Established*. And with this Christianity has not at all meddled, it being very observable that in the Writings of the *New Testament*, such Terms are always made use of as are equally applicable to all *Forms* of Government, *Powers*, *Dignities*, *Principalities*, *Human Ordinances*, *Magistracies*, and such like. However, because the Asserters of unlimited *Passive Obedience* in the last Age, and the Nonjurors in this, by blending these two *Questions* together, (which are perfectly different, depend upon different Principles, and have received contrary Determinations) have very unfairly made use of the *Doctrine* and *Practice* of the *Primitive* as well as the *Established Church*, upon the former *Question* to support their Opinions upon this, it will not be improper here briefly to mention them, that we may see how little they are supported either by the one or the other, and how little they are able to support that dangerous *Conclusion* which they principally intend.

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The Sum of what they assert, as far as I am able to inform my self, is, that all Civil Power is *immediately* from God, and properly speaking, the Power of God himself, exercised by Princes in his Stead for the Support of *Human Societies*, and consequently that no Limit can be set to this Power, or any possible Case supposed wherein Resistance may be lawful, because that would be in effect to resist God himself.

The Difficulty that seems to press most in this Case, what is to be done? Where the Magistrate enjoins any thing that is directly prohibited by the Law of God; they say may easily be solved by distinguishing between *Active* and *Passive Obedience*, whereby, in all Cases that can happen, we may obey both; God, in not transgressing his Laws, and the Magistrate in patiently bearing any Penalties he thinks fit to inflict, where our Duty to God will not permit us to be actively obedient.

This they suppose to be the express *Doctrine* of the *Holy Scripture* in those Passages wherein the *Powers that be* are declared *to be ordained of God*, and Resistance to them is threatened with everlasting Damnation.

The Excesses therefore of the Magistrate, however destructive they may prove, are not to be esteemed as Abuses of his Power, or the Trust committed to him by the Community, that may be restrained by the Force of the People, or prevented by setting Bounds to his Authority; but must be looked upon as Judgments sent from God, for the Punishment of wicked Nations, and as such, born with the utmost Patience and Resignation.

For if the Power of the Magistrate be the Power of God himself, Prayers and Tears, Repentance and Amendment of Life, are the only Means, that can entitle us to his Mercy, and prevail upon him to remove these Judgments; to resist is to fight against God, and may increase, but can never remove the Evil. And all this they say appears from the many Precepts that are to be found in the sacred Writings, enjoining Obedience, and several Passages of the like Kind, found among the Writings of the Fathers, and the Works of our first Reformers, and by the Practice of both in all Times of Persecution.

This Opinion, which arose, as was said, about the Beginning of the last Age, has since received some further *Improvements*. An *Author* of great Name, to favour the Alterations in *Religion*, as well as *Government*, that were made in the Time of the Usurpation, rejected the Distinction between *Active* and *Passive Obedience*, and declared the *Magistrate's Power* to be so absolute in all Cases, that no Man's firmest Persuasion, that any Passage in *Scripture* was contrary to his Command, could excuse him from *Active Obedience*; because the Magistrate, as God's Vicegerent, had the sole Authority of interpreting *Scripture*, and publishing that *Authentick Declaration* of God's Will, which all were bound to follow.

After the *Restoration*; the Duty of *Obedience* was in some measure appropriated to *Monarchical Government*, and the Titles of Princes founded in the Grant of the Property of the Earth, that was made to our first Parent, and his Descendants in the right Line; and therefore not Government in general, but Monarchy, with the Form of Succession, just mentioned, were said to be *Original Appointments* of God, which no *Human Constitution* could dispense withal; and that all Men were bound in Conscience to pay an unlimited *Obedience* to that Prince, and to him only, who by Proximity of Blood succeeded in that Line or Family, which by Prescription was intituled to this *Patriarchal Right*.

By these *Principles* revived since the *Revolution*, the *Enemies* of our *Establishment* have endeavour'd to undermine the present *Government*, and with it the whole Frame of our *Legal Constitution*; with what Success shall be consider'd under the next Head, to which we now proceed; which was,

II. To lay before you the Doctrine of the *Established Church* in the Particulars that have been mentioned, and answer the Difficulties that have been urged against it.

As to the first Point which relates to the *Ecclesiastical Authority*; The *Established Church*, in this, as in all other Points, closely following the Primitive Writers, has publicly Determined in favour of the *Civil Supremacy*; and declared that the Church of Christ, consider'd as a distinct State, or Society under the Direction of its *Spiritual Pastors*, has no Right to restrain, controul, or resist the *Magistrate*; but is in all Cases subject to an unlimited *Passive Obedience*; that

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not only the Object of all *Ecclesiastical* Power is merely Spiritual, but the Exercise of that Power, or the manner whereby it exacts *Obedience* is so too; and can reach no further than to admit or exclude from the *Communion* such as embrace, or renounce the Laws of Christ, without the least coercive Power over their Persons, or their external Actions.

That in consequence of this, all that external Jurisdiction in the Church, which it enjoys in most Christian Kingdoms, is derived from the *Civil Power*, and dependant on it; not only as to the Execution, but with respect to the final Judgment, whether it ought to be *executed*; for all Coercion belonging to the Magistrate, he must be supreme Judge in all Causes of what Nature soever they are, and over all Persons where-ever Coercion is to take place.

And all this may be supported by *Arguments* of the greatest Weight, drawn either from the Reason and Nature of the Thing, the express Authorities of *Scripture*, or the fatal Consequences that have ensued, where-ever the contrary *Doctrine* prevailed.

It is evident, the whole Efficacy of Religion consists in the internal Disposition and Persuasion of the Mind; without these all outward Performances are as ineffectual towards the *Attainment* of the Promises of the Gospel, as if Men assembled together for bodily Exercise or Recreation. Besides, what the true inward Persuasion of one Man is, no other Man can discover, there being no Test to distinguish a Real from a Pretended Persuasion. If therefore God should have left a *Coercive Power* to the Teachers of Religion, and given them a *Right* to compel Men to believe or profess the *Doctrines* they taught; as on the one hand it could have no Efficacy to promote the true Ends of Religion, so on the other, it would give all Men a Right to make War upon all; for not only the true and sincere *Professors* of the Gospel would have this Right, but the most erroneous, and even the greatest Dissemblers and Hypocrites: for since the Pretence in this Case cannot be distinguished from the Reality by any means in our Power; all, as to the *Exercise* of this Right of making War, would have the same Pretensions.

Further;

Further; it would not be possible, in this case, to avoid the *Contradiction* in the Christian Law, unless you place the *Civil Sword* as well as the *Keys* in the Hands of the *Ecclesiastical Superiors*, for it is a direct *Contradiction* that every *Soul should be subject to the Temporal Power*, and at the same time, at the Command of another, the *Governors* of a distinct Society lie under an *Obligation* to destroy it. If it be said; may not the *Civil State* in some Particulars be subject to the *Ecclesiastical*, and in those cases only *Obedience* be dispensed withal, but remain in others? I answer, it is impossible, for whatever Power is subject to another, with respect to the use of the *Sword*, in one Point; must be subject in all, if that other is the final Judge of that Point. And this holds true not only because there can be no Law in a Christian State that does not directly or indirectly affect Religion, as it affects Christians, but because, it is in the Nature of *Supremacy* not to be capable of a Regulation in this Particular.

For either one must be indefinitely *subject* to the other, or certain Limits must be fixed by *Agreement* as the *Boundaries* of the two *Powers*. If the latter; then either one or other must have a Right to determine in case of a Dispute; and which ever that is, must be *Supreme*, (if it has the *Power* of the *Sword* to enforce *Obedience*) or else you must suppose each *Independent*, and *Supreme Judge* in its own Case; and then, the *Contradiction* in the *Christian Law* is unavoidable, because every Man, by virtue of this two-fold *Obedience*, may be under the *Obligation* to destroy, and assist, the same Person at the same Time.

But then; no *Contradiction* follows, if with our *Blessed Saviour*, and the whole *Christian Church* till the *Papal Usurpation*, you allow, that these two *Powers* are neither conversant about the same thing, nor exercise their *Jurisdiction* in the same manner; that, one is *Supreme* in all Causes, and over all Persons with regard to the Direction of the *Force*, *Strength*, or *Power* of the Community; the other confined to Things merely *Spiritual*, and in a *Spiritual Way*; without *Authority*, in any case, to apply or direct the *Force* of the People.

And that this was the Intention of our *Blessed Founder*, appears beyond Controversy from those memorable Words
of

of his, *My Kingdom is not of this World, if my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight for me.* That is, if it were my Intention, that the Rules, which I have delivered, should be enforced by the *Temporal Sword*, or if, in the Nature of the thing, such Force could produce that *Disposition* in the Minds of Men, which the *Religion* I have taught Principally aims at, I could easily by a Force Superior to the united *Strength* of Mankind, by *Twelve Legions of Angels*, or by an *Act* of *Omnipotence* compel all to profess it. But as this was not the Design of *my Kingdom*; I have neither exercised, nor communicated to those, whom I have appointed to bear *Rule* in it, any other *Powers* than what are proper to work upon the Minds of Men in a *Moral Way*, that their *Actions* may be the *Effects* of their own Choice, and they become capable of that *Happiness*, which in the Order of Things God has allotted for *Free* or *Moral Agents*. *My Kingdom* by this Means instead of being destructive to the *Temporal Powers*, assists and strengthens them. But if it should go farther, no doubt, *Religion* would be a constant *Pretext* for *Faction* and *Strife*, which every ambitious Man would lay hold on, either to extend his own *Power*, or seize upon that which belonged to others.

St. Paul is express to the same Purpose. He assigns it as the End and Design of *Civil Power*, to restrain Violence and Wrong by the joint Force of the Community, for this Cause he tells us it was *ordained of God*, and because the *Magistrate* could not answer the End of his Appointment, except he had the Direction of the Strength and Force of the whole Society, he declares it to be the express Will of God, that all, every Soul of whatever *Dignity* or *Station* in the *Christian Church*, whether an *Apostle*, or a *Bishop*, or a *Presbyter*, or a *Layman*, should be subject to the higher Powers. (For so are the Words of St. Chrysostome, and the joint Voice of all *Antiquity* in the Interpretation of this Passage.) And to shew, how high a Place, among the *Rules* of *Christianity*, this *Doctrine* held; he here in my Text makes it a necessary Branch of the Ministerial Office, *To put Men in Mind to be subject to Principalities, and Powers, and obey Magistrates.*

But *Lastly*; Tho' these *Authorities* were less clear, the *Evils* that have ensued, where the contrary *Doctrine* has been entertained, would be sufficient to settle this Point.
For

For whoever looks into the History of the *Papacy*, will see that from the Time of the first Claim of this *Power*, almost every State in *Europe* has been disturbed by it.

They reckon seven *German Emperors*, and three or four *Kings of France*, that were either deposed or murdered by their *Subjects* upon this Account; besides numberless *Crusade's*, *Insurrections*, and *Persecutions* raised in almost every State, and Province of *Europe*, by the Influence it had upon the *Princes* as well as *People*; the greatest of whom have been forced to destroy their own *Subjects*, and violate their *Publick Faith*, where it has been given without the *Consent* or *Approbation* of their *Ecclesiastical Superiors*.

Our *Domestick Instances* are as numerous as those from *Abroad*. The first Race of the *Norman Princes* were, by the *Monks*, kept in a perpetual War with this *Papal Power*, till at last they were forced to submit to it. Since the *Reformation*, besides the *Rebellions* of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, it produced two Attempts, at least, of the most monstrous *Acts of Cruelty*, that are to be found in the History of *Mankind*. The *Gun-powder Treason*, and the *REBELLION* of this Day. In the first, the governing Part of a very great and powerful Nation were at once to be cut off. But the *Treason* of this Day, is still a greater Instance of the boundless *Fury* of this mistaken *Religious Principle*. For the governing Part may be supposed *Objects* of a *Political Cruelty*; but here, the common *People* of all Ranks, who have no Share in the *Government*, and could no more by any publick *Act*, than they had done by any private ill *Treatment*, provoke the *Fury* of those *Zealots*, were to the Number of a Hundred Thousand, (as it is probably collected from the Accounts of those Times) put to Death in cold Blood, as we may say, without either a *Political*, or *private Animosity* to inflame the Passions of their *Murderers*.

This is an undeniable *Argument*, that the Cruelties of this *REBELLION*, were the *Effects* of this damnable *Doctrine* (as the Compilers of our *Law* term it) that Men are obliged to propagate *Religion* by Force, and at the Command of their *Spiritual Superiors*, take up Arms against the *Civil Power*; for in this Kingdom, at that Time, the Natives of different *Persuasions* lived together in a more than usual Degree of good *Correspondence*, and *Neighbourhood*; and the

the ancient *Irish* were admitted to all the Privileges, which those of *English* Extraction enjoyed. So that there was nothing but this Principle, that could raise these miserable Men to that unheard of Pitch of *Inhumanity*, to put to Death such Numbers, without Regard to *Sex* or *Age*, to *Immocence*, *Alliance*, or *Friendship*.

And it sufficiently shews that these Cruelties are not to be attributed to any harsh *Disposition* peculiar to Men of the *Romish* Persuasion, or to the *Natives* of this Kingdom, but to the *Doctrine* by whomsoever professed; that almost as many Instances of near equal *Fury*, may be produced on the Side of the *Sectaries*, where they imagined themselves *Rulers in Christ's Kingdom*, and as such, to have *Authority* to propagate *Religion* by Force, and oppose the *Magistrate*, where he refused to comply with their *Demands*.

Of this Kind may be reckoned that *Universal*, and *Destru-ctive War* of the Peasants in *Germany*, which was chiefly carried on and inflamed by the *Enthusiasts*, about the Beginning of the *Reformation*; the *Insurrection* in the City of *Munster*, that for Cruelty and Madness may vie with our *Irish REBELLION*, was avowedly from this Cause.

I need not mention the *Uneasiness* this *Doctrine* created to King *James I.* before his Accession to the *English Throne*. That the Rebellion of the *Scots* against his Son, *K. Charles I.* was raised and fomented by the *Influence*, this mistaken Principle had upon the *Zealots* among that People, is not, I think, disputed. And what *Effects* it produced in *England*, as soon as it spread there, are sufficiently known. It's certain it abated nothing of its wonted *Vigour*, and that the Murder of the King, and the *Dissolution* of the Government soon followed.

From what has been observed upon this last Head, it will not now be difficult to answer the *Arguments*, that are usually urged in Favour of the *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*. The *Precedents*, I suppose, will not be thought to have much Weight; And the *Contradiction*, which, they say, must follow, if this *Supremacy* be not admitted, cannot favour their Claim, unless they could also prove, that it was the Intention of our *Blessed Founder* to lodge the last Resort of all Power in the *Spiritual Governors* of his Church; and give them the *Direction*, not only of the *Keys*, but of the *Sword* also. The con-

trary whereof appearing very fully to have been his Intention, seems to demonstrate the *Civil Supremacy*, as to all *external Jurisdiction*, because otherwise the Contradiction must follow.

Nor can any Strels be laid upon what is said concerning the Superiority in the End; for tho' it be true, that the End, which Religion proposes, is infinitely superior to any Advantages that can be hoped for in this Life; yet since Coercion can contribute nothing towards the Attainment of that End, but on the contrary, must make Religion an Occasion of perpetual War and Strife among Men, it sufficiently appears, there can be no Case, wherein the Governors or Teachers of it can lay hold on the *Civil Sword*, or which is the same Thing, direct the Force or Strength of the People.

And lastly; from hence it also appears, that there is no Necessity, in order to get clear of this supposed Contradiction, with some modern Writers, to dissolve the Government of the *Christian Church*, and leave the *Members of Christ's Fold scattered and dispersed, as Sheep having no Shepherd*. For since not only the *Object* of the two Powers, but their Manner also of enforcing *Obedience* are perfectly distinct, no Contradiction follows from allowing, in every *Christian Kingdom*, an authorized Government of the *Ecclesiastical* as well as *civil State*: But on the contrary, the *spiritual*, without being capable of disturbing the *Civil Power*, may greatly contribute to its Security and Support.

And certainly what is suggested, that Sincerity in the Professors of *Christianity*, will supply all the Ends of an *authorized Government*, is at least a rash and indigested Notion. For as the Apostle speaks, *How shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a Preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?* And how shall they be sent, if there are not Persons who have Authority from Christ to send Labourers into his Vineyard?

It is manifest, the *Christian Law* is of great Extent, including besides the whole Body of Morality, several positive Precepts, and all the *Articles of our Faith*, which are the Foundation of our *Practice*, as well as Knowledge and Belief, and as necessary (by way of Motive) to engage us to lay hold on those Means of Salvation, which God has proposed; as to inform us, what they are, and upon what Terms we

we may be received into Covenant with him. And surely it will be allowed, that in the ordinary Course of human Affairs, very much the greatest Part of Mankind are so much employed in the Business of their several Professions, and Callings, that unless there had been a Government appointed by Christ, and Persons separated by his Authority, to teach and instruct Mankind in the Laws of God, to admit them into Covenant with him, to preserve the Faith from Corruption and Error, and by a proper Discipline (tho' without Force, and in a moral Way only) to work upon their Wills and Affections, it must be allowed (I say) unless all this had been done, the *Doctrines of Christ*, and the *Means of Salvation* (without a *continued Inspiration*) would be as little known to the Bulk of Mankind, and as little regarded by them, as the Books of *Plato's* Common-wealth, or the Body of the *Justinian Laws*.

It is as great an Error in *Morality*, as *Religion*, to imagine the Mysteries of our Faith, are rather curious, than useful Speculations, and that it is not of Importance to the Good of Mankind, which Way they are held. Just Notions of God, and of his Attributes, his Justice, Goodness and Providence; a true Belief of the Means he has appointed for the Redemption of Mankind, of future Rewards and Punishments; in a Word, a *right Faith* is as necessary to the Good of Mankind, as a *right Rule of Practice or Morality*; and the Reason is obvious, because an erroneous Faith naturally changes and corrupts the Rule of *Morality*, either by giving Men wrong Notions of God, or by removing those *Motives*, which are necessary to engage us to obey his Will. And it is so notoriously known, that before the *Christian Revelation*, the Wickedness of Mankind was chiefly owing to their mistaken *Opinions* concerning the *Divine Nature*, and since, the greatest *Corruptions of Morality*, that have appeared in the World, have been the *Effects of Heresies and Errors* in Faith and Religion.

Nothing therefore can be in point of *Reasons* weaker, in point of *Morality* more dangerous, and with respect to *Christianity* more destructive, than that *Libertine Notion*, that *Mens Errors in Faith*, provided they are sincere, can be no way prejudicial to them; and what, in Consequence of this Notion, is maintained, that there is no need of an *Autho-*

vized Government in the *Christian Church*: But as every Man may embrace what erroneous *Tenets* he thinks fit, so every *Club*, or Number of Men who agree in such *Tenets*, may chuse whom they will to teach and confirm them in these *Errors*, and notwithstanding be as much intituled to the Promises of the *Gospel*, as the *Members* of the most *Orthodox Church*.

Certainly, this is to attribute too much to *Sincerity*; it is true, without it no Man can be a good *Christian*, or an honest *Man*; and no doubt, many Cases may be proposed, wherein the *Uprightness* of a Man's *Intention* may excuse him from an involuntary *Error*. But surely, however useful this *Disposition* may be, either in the Teacher or in the Hearer, it is not of it self sufficient to supply all other *Qualifications* that are requisite to enable a Man to be a proper *Judge* of a very great and extensive Body of Laws, or excuse him from *Guilt*, if without such *Qualifications*, he shall undertake to judge of them, and not follow the Direction of those who are *authorized* and *appointed* by God for that Purpose.

If it had been the Will of God, that all should be *Apostles*, all *Prophets*, all *Teachers*, or as the *Enthusiasts* imagine, all *inspired*, there would be no need of *Spiritual Governors* in the *Christian Church*. But since it has pleased him to order it otherwise, and that the greater Part of Men are not of *themselves* sufficient for these Things without Instruction, without Government, without Discipline, probably the *Christian Graces* of Humility, Submission and Obedience to those who are set over us in the Lord with *Sincerity*, will contribute more to the Enlargement of *Christ's Kingdom*, both in this and the next World, than *Sincerity* alone without them. But of this sufficient.

I proceed therefore to the last Point of this *Controversy*, to enquire briefly, how far Men, considered in their *Civil Capacities*, are permitted by the *Gospel* to limit by their local Constitution the *Power* of the *Magistrate*, and provide against any *Excess* or *Abuse* in the Exercise of that *Power*, which may tend to the *Hurt* and *Ruin* of the Community, and in Case of such *Abuse*, how far this Duty of *Obedience* binds them.

And here it may, I think, safely be affirmed, that neither the *Holy Scriptures*, nor for that Reason the *Christian Church* have gone farther, than to declare that Government in

in general is from God, or of *Divine* or *Moral Institution*; but that with Regard to the various *Forms* of *Political Government*, it has pleased him (upon account of the great Variety of Circumstances, which is found among the different *Bodies* of People that are spread over the whole Earth) to permit every Nation to settle *such*, as were best suited to their Circumstances, and for that Reason, best able to answer the End of *Society*, the Preservation of every Man's *Liberty* and *Property*, by the universal Restraint of *Violence* and *Wrong*.

To every *Ordinance* of *Man*, or every human *Constitution* thus established, the *Holy Scriptures* expressly command all Men to submit. But then, as they determine nothing as to the *Forms* of such *Constitutions*, or which is the same thing, the *Degrees* of *Power* entrusted to any Person in the Direction of the Affairs of the *Society*, it is manifest, *Religion* lays no other Obligations upon any Man, than to obey every Person thus entrusted with any Share or Degree of Power, in such Manner as the Rules of the Society direct; so that with respect to the Restraints and Checks which any *Constitution* puts upon the *Magistrate*, the Gospel has done nothing more, than to make the Laws and Determinations of the *Civil Society*, the *Laws* and *Rules* of *Religion*.

If we suppose therefore, any *free People* not to have entrusted their *chief Magistrate* with the absolute Direction of their *Affairs* according to his Will, but to have appointed *Laws*, that are to be *fixed Rules* for the Exercise of his *Power*; it must necessarily follow, that these *Laws* are a common *Measure*, that at the same time determine both the *Power* of the *Magistrate*, and the *Obedience* of the *Subject*. And if the *Subject* should obey the *Magistrate* contrary to these *Laws*, instead of obeying, according to the *Divine Precept*, the *higher Powers*, he resists them, and is liable to the *Penalties* God has annexed to such *Resistance*.

And this holds equally true, whether the *Magistrate* be himself accountable, or not, to any *Senate* or *Assembly* of the *States*, for since the *Law* is the *Measure* of the *relative Power* and *Duty*, in one as well as the other, at whose Instance soever the *Subject* transgresses the *Law*, he must remain liable to the *Punishment*. And this in effect allowed by the Asserters of the contrary Opinion, by the Limitation they put

to the *Magistrate's Power*, in the Case of the *Divine Law*. For in both Cases, the Limitation is of the very same Nature; and depends upon this, that where he is restrained by a *superior Power*, the *Subject's Obedience* must be dispensed withal.

Now it is evident, where the *Magistrate* has no Right to command, there he can have no Right to exact *Obedience* by *Force*; and if he does, that is an illegal and private *Force*, and not the *Power* of the *Society* of which the *Constitution* gives him the Direction. Wherefore admitting him not to be accountable for his Actions, (which is certainly the Case of our *Constitution* with respect to the *King*) yet, it is plain, this private *Force* may be repelled, where-ever it presses; and if the *Magistrate* will not remove it, but rather than govern by *Law*, or be confined to the *Rules* of the *Constitution*, abdicate and relinquish the Exercise of the *supreme Power*; in that Case, the *Society* is freed from all the *Obligations* they lay under to that Person, either from the *Laws of God* or the *Constitution*; and may, according to the general Tenor of the *Divine Law*, agree upon such a *Settlement* as suits best with their *Circumstances*.

These are the *Rules*, as to this Point, generally received by all Nations, and constantly observed by the *Primitive Christians* under all the Changes in the *Succeſſion*, that were made during the Continuance of the *Roman Empire*; in all which Time, no Instance can be given of their refusing *Obedience* upon account of a defective Title, after the Emperor was acknowledged by the *Senate* or *States*.

These likewise are the *Rules* that have been observed by the Churches and People of these Kingdoms, both before and since the *Reformation*, in all Changes of the like Kind that have happened among us; those Persons, from the most ancient Times, having always been submitted to, who were acknowledged in those Assemblies, wherein the *Legislative Power* was lodged.

And these are the *Principles* of the late *Happy Revolution*, upon which our present Government with all those that preceded it since that great *Deliverance*, have been founded; and which for that Reason is manifestly of *Divine Right*, and has the same *Obedience* due to it by all *Laws*, *Human* and *Divine*, and from all Persons, that is or can be due to any *Ordinance of Man* founded upon a *Divine Precept*. And

And now we shall, I hope, be able to clear up those *Difficulties*, that are chiefly insisted on by the *Nonjurors*; the unlimited Precepts of *Obedience* found in the *Holy Scriptures*, the *Writings* and *Practice* of the *Primitive Fathers*, together with our own *Homilies* and the *Works* of our first Reformers.

For it appears from what has been said, that the general Precepts of *Scripture* neither relate to, nor at all determine this Point. The Writings of the Fathers all refer to that *Charge*, which was brought against them by the *Jews* and *Heathens*, that they were Enemies to the *Powers* in Being, and pretended to have a *Divine Authority*, as Heads of a distinct *Society*, to overturn the *Governments* then established. All which they did indeed utterly disclaim as a malicious Calumny, and on the contrary asserted the *Power* of the Emperor to be Supreme next under *G O D*, and that the *Christian Church*, considered as a distinct *Society* under the Direction of its *Spiritual Governors*, had no Right from God, in any Case whatever, to resist the *Civil Power*. And accordingly they patiently acquiesced under the severest Laws that were made against them, and by their *Practice* confirmed their *Doctrine*.

But this no way affects the Rights of Christians as they, the same Persons, compose the *Civil State*, and may have various *Privileges* with Regard to their *Magistrates*, according to the different Constitutions that are established in the several Parts of the World. It does not follow because the People of *Rome*, considered as Members of the Church under the Conduct of their Bishops, cannot depose *Cæsar* by *Rules* of the *Gospel*, that *Cæsar* is either more or less *Absolute* than he was before, with respect to the Constitution of the *Roman Empire*; or that he becomes an *Absolute* or *Hereditary* Monarch, if before he were Elective or Limited; or that he acquires by the *Laws* of *Christianity* a Right to deprive the Senate of *Rome* of all their *Privileges*, if before they had a Right by the Constitution to take up defensive *Arms* in case he invaded them. All this is manifestly irrational, being in effect to say, that if a Free People, governed by a limited Monarch, should embrace *Christianity*, the Form of their Government must be immediately changed, and by becoming Christians they must become *Slaves*.

The same *Distinction* answers all that has been produced from the *Homilies*, and the *Writings* of the first *Reformers*, which are manifestly levelled against the *Doctrine* of the Church of *Rome*, in order to support the *Civil Supremacy*, and shew the People, that the *Authority* of the Pope could never warrant them to take up Arms against their legal Prince. But as to the *Power* of Christian Princes with respect to the *States* of their several Kingdoms, they never medled with it (as indeed no Church ought to do) and that *Question* was not so much as drawn into Debate in those Days. And thus I have done with what I propos'd.

I shall take Leave to make two or three brief *Inferences* from what has been said, and so conclude. And,

1. Since it appears by truly stating this *Question*, that our present *Settlement* upon the Foot of the *Revolution*, is supported by the *Laws* of God as well as *Man*, by the concurrent *Opinions* of the *Primitive*, as well as *Modern Writers* of all Kinds, (except a few of these Nations) and the settled *Doctrine* and *Practice* of the *Christian Church*: Let all serious Persons consider, how many and great *Obligations* they are under, to defend and maintain it with the utmost *Courage*, *Zeal* and *Fidelity*; and how justly they must stand charged in the Sight of God and *Man*; with all those *Evils* that may ensue, if out of an affected *Caution* or *Indifference*, or any weak and unexamined *Scruples*, they stand by, and permit weak or ill Men to undermine the *Foundation*, upon which our *Religious*, as well as *Civil Rights* are built.

2. Since it appears, that the *Principles* of *Popery* are of such a Nature, that it is not possible, by any *Security* that can be given, to prevent the utter Extirpation of what they call *Heresy*, where the *Civil Power* is under the Direction of the Church of *Rome*, let no *Difficulties* arising from a Concurrency of unforeseen *Accidents*, so far distract the *Judgment*, or inflame the *Passions* of any *Man*, as to make him think of putting the *Sword* into the Hands of a *Person*, who must draw it against us, or by the *Rules* of his own Church be *deposed* and *murdered* by his *Subjects*.

It is extremely difficult to believe him serious, who asserts, that a *reformed Church* may be safe under a *Prince* of the *Romish Persuasion*. But if *Resentment*, *Ambition*, *Avarice*, or any other *evil Affection* has so far got the better of any *Man's Reason*,

Reason, as to make him seriously of this *Opinion*; let me prevail upon him, to examine the *History* of the *Papacy*, and enquire whether ever there has been any *Promise* so solemn, any *publick Faith* so inviolable, any *compact Edict*, or *publick Security* so sacred, that they have not been forced to give way, where the *Interest* of that *Church* required it; and render'd those unhappy Men *Examples* of *Folly*, and *Credulity* to all the World, who have confided in them. Let him examine whether there be any *Attempt* so hazardous, any *Action* so cruel, any **REBELLION** so unnatural, in a Word, any Thing in the *common Opinion* of *Mankind* so execrable, that this *mistaken Religious Zeal* has not prevailed upon some or other of the *Votaries* of that *Church*, to engage in, in order to advance its *Interest*, or extend its *Bounds*. If it be imagined, that *Examples* of this Kind can only be produced from rude and barbarous *Ages*; and that this cruel *Spirit* is now spent and worn out; let him consider, whether in our *Memories*, one of the greatest, the most artful, (or as Men love to speak) the wisest *Princes*, that ever was of that *Persuasion*, did not, contrary to the manifest *Interest* of his *Kingdom*, in Violation of a publick and National *Security*, and contrary to the greatest personal *Obligations* (as far as *Princes* are capable of being obliged) utterly extirpate one of the most flourishing reformed *Churches* of *Europe*.

3. Since it appears, that most of those *Sects* that are among us, have, with the *Church* of *Rome*, varied from the *Original Doctrine* of Christianity in this Point of *Obedience*; and that the *Established Church* has kept close to those *Rules* of its *Blessed Founder*, which make Religion an additional *Strength* and *Security* to the *Civil Power*; let it never be thought *Wisdom* or *Policy* to discountenance, or discourage it; to raise up *Competitors* to it; to deprive it of any of its legal *Securities*; or to lessen or diminish those *Powers*, which by the wisest *Princes* have been conferred upon it, more effectually to enable it to assist and strengthen that *Power*, by which it is it self supported and protected.

The *Fancies* of the *Libertines* of the present *Age* are so extraordinary, that there is no need, in this *Assembly*, of a *Caution* against them. It is impossible a wise *Man* can imagine, that the *Influence*, which *Religion* has upon *Government*, can be rendered more useful by being left to, what they call, the

Sincerity and inward *Conscience* of private Men, that is, to speak plainly, the *Humour*, the *Interest*, and the *Passions* of the *Multitude*, than by being conducted and directed by the stated Rules, and known Discipline of a well constituted and Orthodox Church.

These are, and always have been found, real *Securities* to Christian States and Princes, and have united the *Hearts* and *Affections* of their *Subjects* to them, by such *Ties* of *Duty* and *Fidelity*, as no *Passion* or private *Interest* could dissolve or loosen. Without these, a *Society* of *Christians* is more ungovernable, than a loose *Multitude* of untaught *Heathens*; every Man's *Whim*, his *Ambition*, his *Lust* or *Avarice* will become the Rules of his *Religion*. And what *Security*! what *Peace*! what *Obedience*! what *Fidelity* can be expected from such Rules, no Man needs to be informed.

Lastly, Since *Religion* and *Civil Government*, as to this Life, have the same End, the Peace and common Welfare of Mankind; let this, the *Publick Good*, be the sole Aim of all those, who have any Share in this great *Trust* committed to them by the Will of God, and the Rules of the Community. And let it never be pursued by any Means, that are not consistent with those *Eternal Laws* of Reason and Religion, which God either in his revealed Will, or by the Light of Nature has discovered. Where *Society* is thus founded, and thus governed, it is secured, and guarded on every Side by the ordinary Course of the *Divine Providence*, and if we should by any Circumstances, not in our Power to prevent, stand in need of his extraordinary Interposition, we have sufficient Grounds from his infinite Goodness, and the Examples of his Mercy which he has been pleased so often to shew in many great and extraordinary Deliverances of these Nations, humbly to hope and expect it.

Now to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, be ascribed all Honour, Glory, Might, Majesty, and Dominion, now and for ever. Amen.

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